

THE CALUKYAS OF VEMULAVĀḌA

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Besides Pampa's well-known references to his patron Arikesari and his ancestors in the '*Bhārata*', we have three inscriptions of the Cālukyas of Vemulavāḍa—the Kollipara plates of Arikesari I,¹ the Vemulavāḍa stone inscription of Arikesari II² and the Parbhani plates of Arikesari III.³ Light has been thrown on the history of the line by the tentative discussions of the editors of these documents. Our aim is to consider the entire history of the line in the light of data furnished by the four authorities now available and other evidence bearing on these data. Mr. D. L. Narasimhachari has reviewed the genealogy of the line as given by Pampa⁴ and shown that Fleet's first account of this line suffers from the unsatisfactory nature of the manuscripts of Pampa consulted by him and from a defective understanding of his difficult text. And Mr. Timmappayya in his work on *Nāḍōja Pampa*⁵ has reviewed the evidence and made suggestions of interest. In our discussion we shall adhere as closely as possible to the data from our sources and offer only such comments as are necessary for elucidating them and placing them in their proper relation to other known facts of history. Earlier writings on the subject contain some palpable errors, and a good deal of groundless speculation; it is not necessary to consider these in any detail, following the well-known rule: *bhūyāmsō' paśabdāḥ alpīyāmsaś-śabdāḥ*.

The Kollipara plates bear no date, and are written in Sanskrit verse and prose. Opening with salutations to Śiva and Viṣṇu,

1. Ed. M. S. Sarma—*Bhārati* VII. pt. 2 (Pramodūta Śrāvāṇa).

2. Ed. B. V. Krishna Rao—*JAHS*. vi. pp. 169-92, also reproducing text of Kollipara plates.

3. Original edition by S. N. Joshi in *JBISM* xiii 3; text reproduced by Nathuram Premi in his *Jaina sāhitya aur itihāsa* pp. 85-92.

4. *JAHS* vii. pp. 158-64.

5. Mangalore, 1938.

the record makes a reference to the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu and the rise of the Cālukya line of rulers efficient in the protection of the earth. Satyāśraya, a *mahātmā* who had the title Raṇa-vikrama, was born in that family; Pṛthivīpati, the equal of Pṛthu in fame, was his son; the famous Mahārāja was born of him; Mahārāja's son was Rājāditya, whose son was the universal emperor (viśvarāt) Vinayāditya Yuddamalla; he had the titles Nṛpāṅkuṣa and Rājāśraya, and was a devotee of Śiva. From him was born Arikesari whose feet were worshipped by the Turaṣka, Yavana, Barbara, Kaśmīra, Kāmbhoja, Magadha, Mālava, Kalinga, Ganga, Pallava, Pāṇḍya, Kerala and others; who subdued the entire world with the signet of the boar obtained as a boon from the adorable Nārāyaṇa—the usual Cālukya title applied to the whole dynasty; who was learned in grammar, Dharma, elephant lore, logic, archery and medicine, and had the titles Raṇārjuna, Samastalokāśraya, Tribhuvanamalla, Rājatrinetra and Sāhasarāma. Then follows the description of the donee which begins with a verse which is a curious double entendre and may be set down here as it has been taken to contain a date in the Kaliyuga era:

Kalau vyāpte jagatyasmin-surendrebhārka-sāgarāḥ |
dānena tejasā sthityā jītā yena mahātmanah ||

This verse praises the Ankuṭa-guru-kula to which the donee belonged and says that it excelled the noble elephant of Indra, the sun and the seas respectively by its liberality (rut), splendour and stability. The first line, Mr. M. S. Sarma thinks, contains the Kali date 4121 (A.D. 1020). Then is mentioned Sadyośiva-ācārya who was residing in Ēlēsvara to the west of the northern entrance to Śrīparvata, the abode of Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva); the pupil of Sadyośiva was Mugdha-Śiva who was well versed in the (Śaiva) Siddhānta and who had destroyed all his sins by constant meditation (dhyāna); to him as a *vidyādāna* was given the village of Bel-moga in the Rāmaḍu Viṣaya by Arikesari who gets the further titles Rājāṅkuṣa and Āhavavikrama besides some of those which occur earlier in the inscription.

The genealogical data furnished by the Vemulavāḍa plates of Arikesari II, by Pampa who wrote under his patronage and by the Parbhaṇī plates of Arikesari III are best presented together with those from the Kollipara plates in a synoptic form before we enter upon the discussion of their significance:

(1) *Kollipara*
Cālukya-vamśa

Satyāśraya Rāṇa-
vikrama

Prthivīpati

Mahārāja

Rājāditya
(Prthu-vikrama)

Vinayāditya
Yuddhamalla
Rājāśraya

Arikesari

(2) *Vemavāda*
Sūta

Vinayāditya
Yuddha-
malla I.

Arikesari I

Narasimhavarma I
Rājāditya

Yuddhamalla II

Baddega

Yuddhamalla III⁶

Narasimhadeva II

Arikesari I

Yuddhamalla I

Arikesari I

Narasimha I Bhadradeva

Dugdhamalla II Other sons

Baddega Solada-
ganda Others

Dugdhamalla III

Narasimha II *m*
Jākavve

Arikesari II.

(3) *Pampa*
Cālukyas

Yuddhamalla I

Arikesari I

Narasimha I Bhadradeva

Yuddhamalla II

Baddiga I

Yuddhamalla III

Narasimha II

Arikesari II

Bhadradeva II

Arikesari III Ś. 888.

At a glance we see that in all these four records we have to deal with one and the same dynasty, that *prima facie* Nos. 2, 3, 4 begin with the two names at the end of No. (1) and that the Parbhaṇī plates carry the genealogy to two generations beyond Nos. (2) and (3). We also notice that while Nos. (1) and (3) simply speak of the Cāḷukyavamśa and then proceed to give out the names of the kings, No. (2) traces the line from the Sun and No. (4) expressly declares *astyādityabhavo vamsās-cāḷukya iti viśrutah*, i.e., there is the line born of the Sun which is known as Cāḷukya. This is of interest as being in keeping with the tradition regarding the rule of 59 kings of the dynasty in Ayodhyā before it came down to Deccan; but it is well known that other records trace their descent to Brahmā or to the Moon.⁷

The name of Yuddhamalla figures as Dugdhamalla in the case of the second and third rulers of that name in Pampa, though the form is unchanged for the first ruler; this is perhaps no more than a scribal error. The inscriptions give clearly Yuddhamalla.

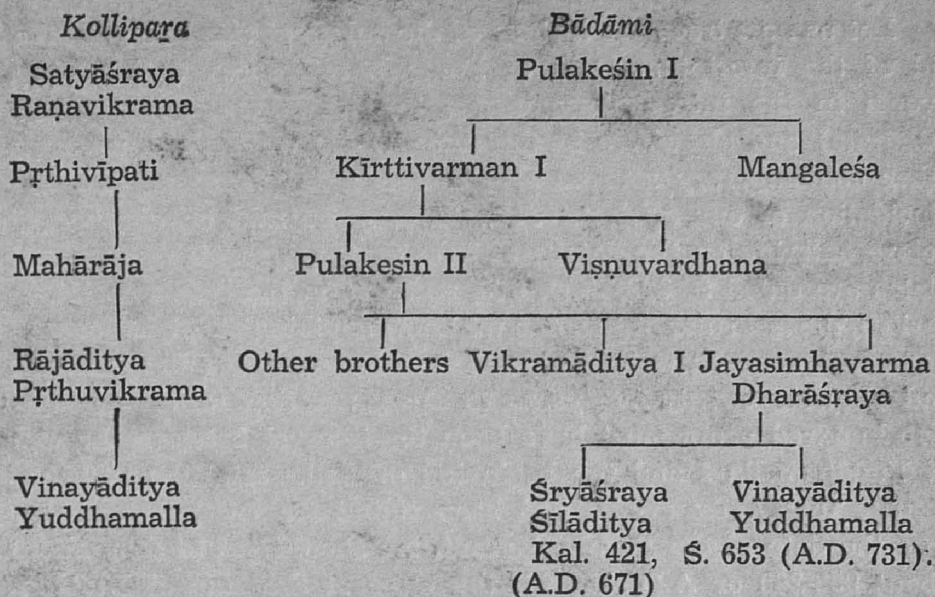
The dynastic affinities of this line have been much discussed and their connection with the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi has been affirmed and denied by turns. But the most useful suggestion in this respect was, I think, first made by Mr. Timmappayya in his work on Nāḍōja Pampa⁸ in which he pointed out the probable identity of Yuddhamalla I Vinayāditya with the homonymous ruler of the Lāṭa branch of the Cāḷukyas, the son of Jayasimhavarman, mentioned in the Balsar plates.⁹ Let us now place side by side the genealogy of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi from which the Lāṭa line branched off and that of Yuddhama I as we find it in the Kolli-para plates:

6. Verse 6 of the inscription is not clearly engraved, but there is no doubt that Narasimha I Rājāditya, Yuddhamalla II, Baddega, and Yuddhamalla II are all mentioned in it as may be seen from the impression ll. 24-5. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao has missed this and assumed an omission of two generations. Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu placed his readings of the record in my hands and I am very grateful to him for the help.

7. DKD. p. 339.

8. pp. 18, 26-7.

9. JBBRAS. xvi. p. 5.



Two things stand out prominently here; first the number of generations between Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla and Satyāśraya Raṇavikrama on the one side and between Pulakeśin I and Vinayāditya on the other tallies very well; secondly Pulakeśin I was Satyāśraya *par excellence*, the first to bear the title, and in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription he is styled Satyāśraya Śrī-Prthivālabha—Raṇavikramāṅkā; it seems reasonable to infer the identity of the founder (Vamśakara) from whom both the Bādāmi line and that of the Kollipara plates trace their descent. Pulakeśin II is expressly referred to a Mahārāja at the end of the Satārā grant of Viṣṇuvardhana,¹⁰ and this furnishes another sure link in the chain of identities. The names Prthivīpati for Kīrtti-varman I. and Rājāditya Prthuvikrama for Dharāśraya Jayasimha, we are unable to explain with the records now accessible to us; but these are only titles, and might very well have been employed in inscriptions that have either not come down to us or still await the eye of the fortunate explorer. It is clear, however, that even by the time of Arikesari I, the donor of the Kollipara plates, the memory of their ancestry had begun to fade out somewhat, and it is no surprise that the generations before Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla I are omitted in all later genealogies of the Vemulavāda line accessible to us. In this respect they furnish a striking contrast to the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī, and even to those of Mudugoṇḍa.

Let us now trace the history of the rulers of this line with the aid of the inscriptions and of Pampa's references to historical events in the introductory verses to his *Vikramārjuna vijaya* (Bhārata) and elsewhere in the same work; we shall draw upon other contemporary sources also to the extent necessary for the elucidation of our subject. A word may be said on chronology before entering on the details of individual reigns. The Parbhaṇī plates are dated Ś. 888, A.D. 966, and this is the date for Arikesari III, the last ruler of this line we know anything of. Eight generations intervene between him and Yuddhamalla I (Vinayāditya), and allowing twenty-five years to the generation on an average, two hundred years must have been the interval between the end of Yuddhamalla I and the beginning of Arikesari III; and if we assume that Arikesari III had been ruling for say ten years before the date of the Parbhaṇī grant, we should get to somewhere about 956-200 or A.D. 756 for the close of the rule of Yuddhamalla I; as a matter of fact we have the date Ś 653 (A.D. 731) for him in the Balsar plate which probably refers to a time when Yuddhamalla was still in his original home in the Lāṭa country. And this is virtually an independent corroboration of the scheme of identities accepted above.

Of Yuddhamalla I we read in the Kollipara plates: after Rājāditya,

tato' bhavat sutaḥ śrīmān śrī Rāmo Rāmavikramaḥ |
viśvarād-Vinayādityo Yuddhamallo Nṛpāṅkuśaḥ || 7 ||

gurudorddaṇḍa-pracaṇḍa-sphuraḍ-asilatikā-nīta-rājanya-
lakṣmīkarā-yugmotthāpitendu-dyuti-hara-dhavalāmbhoja-
lilātapatraḥ |

dharanī-dikcakraṇvālāntage-nikhilaguṇodbhāsi-rājāśrayah-
sāgaravelā-veṣṭito-dyat-sakalavasumatī-vallabho-Yuddha-
mallah || 8 ||

These two verses just compare the valour of Yuddhamalla to that of Rāma and affirm that he was an emperor (Viśvarāt) the excellence of whose qualities had won recognition over the entire world. There follows a prose passage which from its position may be applied either to Yuddhamalla himself or to his son who is mentioned in the verse following, and this ambiguity might well have been intended by the author of the *praśasti*. This passage, once more, is not history but empty praise:

Turuška-Yavana-Barbara-Kāsmīra-Kāmbhoja-Magadha-
Mālava-Kalinga-Ganga-Pallava-Pāṇḍya-Kerala-prabhṛti-nara-
pati-samabhyarcita-pādapīṭhaḥ, bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-vara-
varāha-lāñchana-vaśīkṛtā-śeṣa-viśvambharācakraḥ.

After giving an impossible list of rulers of different nations who made obeisance to Yuddhamalla (or his son), this text ascribes the success attained in the subjugation of the world to the merit of the Boar-crest got as a boon (by the family of Całukyas) from Lord Nārāyaṇa.

The records of a later time, curiously enough, give more specific details about Yuddhamalla I than the Kollipara plates issued by his son. Thus in the Vemulavāda inscription¹¹ we have:

samasta-vibudhajana-samstūyamānaḥ sakala-kalā-kamalaika-
rājahmsaḥ Kamsa-mathana iva kamalākarikṛta-vakṣasthalaḥ
sthānuriva bhasmasātṛta-samastā-ripuraḥ prakhaṇḍa-
pravṛddhodaya-prabodhitaāśeṣa-pravāhāmbhojā-nvarthikṛta-
Vinayāditya-namādheyah prasādhitā-śeṣa-digmaṇḍalaśca para-
maṇḍalaika-rāmaḥ Całukyatilakaḥ śrī Yuddhamallo nāma
rājā babhūva |

so'yam kilā-śāsad-ananya-śāsya-sapādalakṣam-kṣitim-akṣa-
tājñaḥ |

samasta-rājendra-kirīta-koṭi-māṇikyaraśmi (ḥ)-prakar (ā)
rcitāṅghriḥ || 2 ||

yaḥ Podane saudhamayī(m) gajānām vidhāya vāpīmapi taila
pūraiḥ |

sa sarva-sekaṁ satataṁ vitene cāsraiḥ kucānām ari-
sundarīṇām || 3 ||

sa Ciṭrakūṭam bahucitrakūṭam śakyā surendrairapi nopayātum |
trivargayuktaḥ prapaṭārivargaḥ svabhāva-durgam kila tam
jahāra || 4 ||

The prose passage is mere praśasti giving no historical data and may be passed over. The first of the verses states that Yuddhamalla ruled the Sapādalakṣa country and had many feudatories. The next verse says that in Podana the king gave constant and

11. I am following the better readings of Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu in all my citations from this inscription. It is a pity they have remained unpublished till now.

where? (2) What country is meant by the expression Sapāda-lakṣa-kṣiti (bhū) where he established his kingdom? (3) Where was Citrakūṭa and what is the meaning of the statement that Yuddhamalla captured its impregnable fortress? Lastly, (4) where was Podana where Yuddhamalla caused oil wells to be made for the use of his elephant corps? Only tentative answers can be given to all these questions at present, and the suggestions offered below should be treated as subject to revision or confirmation in the light of fresh evidence. Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla was one of the three sons of Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman and his lot was cast in difficult times. The Arab conquerors of Sindh were seeking to extend their way into Deccan, and one of Yuddhamalla's brothers, Pulakeśin by name, distinguished himself as the guardian of the northern frontier against the Arabs and earned from the grateful Cālukyan emperor Vikramāditya II the title of 'avanijanāśraya' the asylum for the people of the world.¹² Within a few years after that came the end of Cālukya empire brought about by the enterprise of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantidurga who waged wars on the banks of the Mahī, Mahānadī and Narmadā, and in the Madhyadeśa even before he put an end to the Cālukya empire of Kīrttivarman II. In such unsettled times an able prince and good soldier like Yuddhamalla I who found no scope for the exercise of his talents in the small principality (Lāṭa) of his father and his elder brother might have resolved on purpose to seek his fortunes on a wider field. To determine what exactly he did with himself, we must know the location of the Sapādalakṣa country where he is said to have ruled, and of Citrakūṭa and Podana. Of these places Podana is easily identified with Bodhan in the Nizambad district of the Nizam's dominions. This is a place with ancient associations, and an inscription from the place dated Ś. 978 (A.D. 1056) mentions the fact that the Rāṣtrakūṭa Indra had founded a Viṣṇu temple in that town. Its location taken along with the provenance of the three inscriptions discussed here, Vemulavāda in the Karīmīnagar district, Parbhani in Parbhani district, and Kollipara in Guṇṭūr district, leave little room for doubt that the centre of activity of the successors of Yuddhamalla I, if not of Yuddhamalla himself, must be located in the Nizam's dominions, particularly the eastern half of it known as Telingana, and Podana must be taken to mark a stage in this progress towards the east. Other facts confirming

12. DKD. p. 375; VII. Interl. Congress of Orientalists-Transactions pp. 211-38.

this view are not wanting; the Kollipara plates record a grant made to a Śaiva ascetic of Ēlēsvara to the north of the celebrated mountain Śrīśaila in the Karnūl district; the temple of Āditya and the land granted to it in the Vemulavāḍa inscription both lay in Vemulavāḍa itself, and in the Parbhaṇī plates, this city is expressly described as the rājadhānī (capital) of Arikesari III. It is certain that Vemulavāḍa became the headquarters of this branch of the Cālukyas at an early stage, probably under Arikesari I.

All the same, the identification of Sapādalakṣa and the elucidation of the reference to Citrakūṭa are by no means easy. The name Sapādalakṣa is generally applied to Śākambharī, Sāmbhār in Eastern Rajaputana, and its chief city is Ajayameru, modern Ajmer; likewise the name Citrakūṭa is applied in mediaeval inscriptions to Chitor, and the place is called a mahādurga,¹³ a description which suits the indications contained in verse (4) from the Vemulavāḍa inscription. Another Citrakūṭa in Bundelkhand is known, but it is much more likely that we have to do with Chitor on the direct line from Lāṭa to Sapādalakṣa. That Yuddhamalla I established his rule in the Ajmere country in Eastern Rajaputana is, however, hard to believe in the absence of any traces of such rule. I think the best way of accounting for all the data we have regarding Yuddhamalla I is to suppose that he joined hands with the Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantidurga, and played a prominent part in his wars in Madhyadeśa of which unfortunately no detailed account has come down to us. We may assume that he assisted Dantidurga in the capture of Chitor and the Sapādalakṣa country, and ruled the latter as his governor for a short while, and that the memory of this adventure, for it was nothing more either for Yuddhamalla or his chief, was carefully treasured in the annals of the family. Yuddhamalla ended up by accepting a fief at the hands of the Rāṣtrakūṭa ruler which centred round Bodhan (Poḍana), as the reward for his services. And this became the base for the further achievements of the family.

The son of Yuddhamalla was Arikesari I, the donor of the Kollipara plates. In these plates we read of him:

abhavad-Vinayādityaḥ
pratimaḥ |

Nala-Nahuṣa-Dilīpa-Dundhumāre-

Arikesarīti nāmnā sūnuḥ kṣīrodadher-yathā śīśirāmsuḥ | 9 ||

rājaśriyam vakṣasi bhāratīm mukhe vīraśriyam doṣi gurau
svadakṣiṇe |

'dik-cakravāla-bhramaṇodyatām dadhat kīrtti-pratāpe ripu-
darpa-nāśane || 10 ||

vyākaraṇa-dharma-vid dvirada-tantra-dakṣaḥ sadā nyāya-
nipuṇo dhanur-vidita-śikṣayā vīrutah āyatim-upetavān jagati
vaidya-śāstre 'dhikam śrīmad-Arikesarī nṛpaṇaiḥ samā-
viṣkṛtaḥ Samasta-bhuvana-rājalakṣmi-nivāsa-vakṣasthalaḥ
svabhujā-balākṛṣṭa-śarāsana-jyālatā-vimukta - nārācaparam-
parā - parājita - parāvanīpāla - samstūyamāna - raṇārjunah
śumbhad - ambhodhimekhalā - kalāpāvṛta - vasundharātala-
sandhāraṇa - stmbhāyamāna - bhujārgalaḥ samastalokāśrayaḥ
tribhuvanamallaḥ rājatrinetraḥ sāhasa-Rāmaḥ ityetair-abhid-
hānair-abhiṣṭutaḥ

The eloquence of this long praise is couched in very general terms; we gather that the king was brave in war and subdued all enemies and sustained the whole world; he had many titles; of his learning some details are vouchsafed, and he was an adept in such diverse subjects of knowledge as grammar, law, elephant-lore, logic, archery and medicine.

The inscription bears no date, and was apparently issued before the date of the achievements of the king recorded in our other sources. The faulty verse kalau vyāpte immediately following the passage cited above is only an ingenious praise of the Aṅkuta-gurukula and seems to contain no date in the Kaliyuga era as Mr. M. S. Sarma persuaded himself to believe when he edited the record in the Bhārati.^{13a}

13a. Mr. M. S. Sarma after reading this paper has suggested to me the possibility that the Kollipara plates may be spurious and the 'Kalau vyāpte' verse may carry a date, albeit wrong, in the Kaliyuga era. The silence of the record on Yuddhamalla's achievements, his connection with Sapādalakṣa and Podana, not to speak of Citrakūṭa, may seem to lend support to this suggestion. But there is nothing in the record itself of a positive character that would justify a doubt about its genuineness. The omissions relating to Yuddhamalla do call for an explanation; but the Kollipara plates say nothing even of the much greater rulers of the Bādāmi line whom it just names and passes on. The family of Vemulavāda evidently began to brush up its annals and give itself an independent and respectable pedigree after it established itself as a powerful feudatory dynasty after the great deeds of Narasimha II and in Arikesari II's time, and then only partial success was attained in the effort; as the blank in the history of four generations shows. I do not see any good reason for rejecting the Kollipara record as spurious.

The names of places mentioned in the Kollipara plates are all Telugu—Rāmaḍu Viṣaya Ūrige, Belmoga, Tuvatoru, Parivārtul, Pulcerruval, Potuvodupi. Thus it seems probable that the village which was the subject of the gift must have lain in the Karnūl district near Śrīśailam, or in the Telingana area of the Nizam's state, which indicates the locale of Arikesari's rule. That he was a Śaiva himself in his religious persuasion may also be perhaps, inferred, though we cannot, of course, be sure of this.

The Vemulavāḍa pillar inscription has the following on Ari-kesari I:

tasyā (Yuddhamallasya)-tmajo dakṣiṇa-bāhudaṇḍa-caṇḍā-
sidhārā-hata-vairi-ṣaṇḍaḥ |
balād-grhītā-khila-Vengideśaḥ pāti sma prthvīm-Arike-
sariśaḥ || 5

Here we have mention of a concrete fact unknown to the Kollipara plates, viz., the forcible seizure of the 'entire Vengi deśa' by Ari-kesari I. Pampa also mentions this fact and adds the valuable information that this conquest of Vengi together with Trikalīṅga was made by Arikesari in the reign of Nirupumadeva. The verse (No. 20) in which this statement occurs has seldom been correctly reproduced or understood. But the text of the Kaṁāṭaka Sāhitya Paṇḍit edition read in the light of the verses in the Vemulavāḍa and Parbhāṇī inscriptions leaves no room for any doubt about the proper interpretation. The four verses of Pampa on Arikesari I may now be transcribed:

18. śrīpatige Yuddhamalla ma-
hīpatige negaḷte puṭṭe puṭṭidan-akhiḷa-
kṣmāpāla maḷimaṇi kira-
nāpālita nakha mayūkharamjita-caraṇam ||
19. Arikēsari yembaṁ suṁ
darāṅgan-atyanta vastuvam madakariyaṁ
hariyaṁ paḍivaḍegurccida-
karavāḷane tōri nṛpatigellaṁgonḍam ||
20. Nirupama dēvana rājyadoḷ-
Arikesari Vengiviṣayamam Trigāḷiṁgaṁ-
berasottikoṇḍu garvade
bareyisidam pesaran-akhiḷa digbhittigaḷoḷ. ||

21. kṣatram tējoguṇamā-
 kṣatriyaṛoḷ nelasi nindudā negaldādi-
 kṣatriyaṛoḷam-illenisidu
 dī trijagadoḷ-esagid-esakam-Arikesari-yā ||

Verse 20 is crucial from our point of view, the rest being just rhetorical praise of Arikesari, beautiful as poetry but mentioning no concrete historical event. Verse 20 means that in the reign of Nirupamadeva, Arikesari made himself very famous (lit. had his fame engraved on walls viz., all the quarters) by his invasion and capture of Vengi and Trikalīṅga. Nirupama (Dhruva), the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, is taken generally to have ruled from about A.D. 780 to 793,¹⁴ a period which must have included the last years of the reign of Arikesari I according to the scheme of chronology suggested above. And we know from the Paithan plates, as interpreted by Kielhorn,¹⁵ that Nirupama had differences with his elder brother Govinda II, and that Govinda sought the help of the rulers of Kāñchi, Vengi, and Mālava, against his brother, though these rulers were otherwise hostile to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family (pratirājas). But all this availed Govinda little; Nirupama succeeded in defeating him in open fight, and then proceeded to make his power felt by those who had taken the side of Govinda in the contest, in particular the hostile kings of the east and the north. The east here is a clear reference to Vengi, and Arikesari I as we learn from Pampa and the inscription of Vemulavāḍa played a decisive part in the war against Vengi which included Trikalīṅga within its sphere of influence for most of its history. The direct statement in the Vemulavāḍa inscription that Arikesari fought his foes with the sword in his right arm, and took all Vengi-deśa by force and ruled it, is thus seen to be an important statement of considerable historical value, and I think we may assume that parts of Telingana definitely changed hands as a result of Arikesari's campaign, becoming part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire held as a fief by Arikesari and his successors from this time. And it is quite probable that Vemulavāḍa became the seat of their power in consequence. The single verse describing these occurrences briefly in the Parbhāṇī inscription confirms the suggestions put forward above on the strength of Pampa's reference to Nirupama's rule. That verse from the copper plate reads:

14. Altekar—*Rāṣṭrakūṭas* pp. 52, 58-9.

15. EI. iii. pp. 104-5.

sakalingatrayām Vengim yo'vati sma parākramāt |
 putro Jayaśriyah pātram tasyāsīd-Arikesarī ||4||
 (Tasya is of course Yuddhamallasya)

As already indicated, the next four generations, Narasimha I Rājāditya, Yuddhamalla II, Baddega I, and Yuddhamalla III are disposed of by the Vemulavāḍa inscription in a single verse, which is not easily deciphered in its entirety; it says something about Yuddhamalla II, but what it is I cannot say at present. I refrain from reproducing this verse here. There is thus a blank in the history of the line for practically a whole century, and even Pampa and the Parbhaṇī plates give relatively little information on this period. Still, we shall follow them in some detail for the sake of completeness. First, Pampa:

22. Arikesarigātmaajar-ari-
 narapa śirōḍaḷana pariṇatōgrāsibhayam-
 kara kararāyirvarolār
 doreyene Narasimha Bhadradevar negalḍar ||
23. avarol Narasiṅgaṅgati-
 dhavaḷa yaśam Dugdhamallan-agrasutaṁ ta-
 dbhuvana pradīpanāgi-
 rda-vāryavīryaṅge Baddegam piriya magam ||

In verse 22 Pampa states that Arikesari I had two sons, Narasimha I and Bhadradeva, both renowned warriors. Verse 23 states that Narasimha I had for his first son the famous Dugdhamalla, who was like a light unto the world and whose valour was irresistible; his elder son was Baddega.

In the same strain, the Parbhaṇī plates have two anuṣṭup verses covering the three generations of the two verses of Pampa:

Narasimho Bhadradevas-tejaḥ-kānti-nidhī svayam |
 tasyābhūtām sutau sāksāt-sūryācandramasāviva ||5||
 tatrā-bhūn Narasimhasya Yuddhamallas-tanūbhavaḥ ||
 Vandicintāmaṇistasya Baddigo-Jani nandanah ||6||

To Baddega's character and achievements, Pampa devotes no fewer than six stanzas, all of which are reproduced below except the last (No. 29) which is not of any great interest being simply praise of Baddega's liberality so often dwelt on before:

24. puṭṭidōḍātanoḷarivoḍa
 puṭṭidudarivimge pempu pempinolāyam |

kattāyadoḷ-aḷav-aḷavino-
 ḷottaje puṭṭidudu pōlvarār Baddeganm ||

25. balvarikeyoḷ-arinrpara pa-
 ḍalvaḍe taḷtiridu raṇadoḷā vikramamaṁ
 solvinam-āvarji(?)sidam
 nālvatteraḍarikegālegamgaḷōḷitaṁ ||
26. vanadhi parīta-bhūtaḷadaḷ-īthane sōlada-gaṇḍaneṁba peṁ-
 pina pesaraṁ nimircidudumallade vikramadimde nimdagu-
 rvenal-iṛidāmtaram moṣaḷeyam piḍivaṁ-tire nīrol-otti Bhī-
 mananati garvadiṁ piḍiye meygali Baddegana-nna nāvanō||
27. mugilam muṭṭida peṁpu peṁpanoḷakoṇḍudyō-gam-
 udyōgaḍoḷ
 negaḷdājñāphalaṁ-ājñeyoḷ toḍardagurv-
 -oṁd-oṁdagurviṁ-dagu-
 rvugoḷuttirparimaṁdaḷaṁ jasakaḍarpa-
 -ppannegam saṁdanī
 jagadoḷ Baddeganannan-āvanilikuṁ bhrūkōṭiyiṁ kōṭi-
 yaṁ |
28. Mēru[va] pon kalpāṁghripa-
 ḍārave rasadoṛavu parusavēdiya kaṇi bhaṁ
 ḍāradoḷumṭene kuḍuva ni
 vārīta dānakke pōlvarār Baddeganaṁ ||

Verses 25 and 26 are of particular interest as stating that Baddega was victorious in forty-two great battles and thus earned the proud title of 'the soldier who knew no defeat' (solada-gaṇḍan); he fought his battles against Bhīma with all the ferocity of a crocodile in water and took him captive, a simile which recurs in a verse in the Parbhāṇī plates on Baddega to be cited presently. The rest is praise of the administration, heroism and liberality of Baddega. The verse from the Parbhāṇī plates on Baddega reads as follows:

nānā-durdhara-yuddha-labdha-vijayaśrī-saṁgamā-karṇanād-
 Bhīmaḥ Pāṇḍava eṣa ityasuhrdo yasmāt paraḥ (m?) bibhyati |
 Bhīmaṁ bhīmaparākramaika-nilayaṁ taṁ-helayaivāgrahīd-
 ugram grāham-ivāntarambu samare dorvikramād Baddigaḥ||7||

Recalling the statement of Pampa on the forty-two great battles won by Baddega, one is tempted to apply the first half of this verse to Baddega and to suppose that he was the victor in the numerous difficult battles, the Pāṇḍava Bhīma of whom enemies stood in

great dread; but the demonstrative pronoun *yasmāt* in the second line links it up definitely with the *tam* in line 3, as also the play upon the name Bhīma; thus Bhīma, the enemy of Baddega, is first praised as the victor in many difficult battles, the very Pāṇḍava Bhīma come back to life; and him Baddega captured like the ferocious crocodile fighting in its own element, water, a comparison which suggests a well-known Purāṇic situation,

Now what are these forty-two battles and who is this great Bhīma? By our scheme of chronology, Baddega gets a date somewhere about the middle of the ninth century A.D., and we find that a little before this mean date we have the Eastern Cālukya ruler Narēndramrṅgarāja-Vijayāditya II who is said to have waged a long war fighting day and night during twelve years a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gangas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas; and a little later we have Cālukya-Bhīma who found that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had occupied practically the whole of the Vengi kingdom, and that he had to reconquer it all over.¹⁶ It does not need much argument to recognise that the forty-two battles in which Baddega distinguished himself as well as those hard fought engagements that proclaimed Bhīma's prowess as soldier must have been mostly identical with those 108 battles—a conventional number—of Vijayāditya II, and that the Bhīma captured by Baddega was no other than Cālukya Bhīma I. Baddega's fights were then all of them in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa cause and against the Eastern Cālukyas; he was the loyal and doughty champion, the 'solada-gaṇḍa' on the eastern marches of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire from the time of Govinda III to that of Kṛṣṇa II.

Of Yuddhalla III both Pampa and the Parbhāṇī plates have one verse each containing general praise of his valour, fame, and ability as ruler: thus Pampa:

ā Baddegamge vairi ta-
mōbaḷa daśaśatakaram virājita vijaya
śrī-bāhu Dugdhamallan-i
lā bahavidha-rakṣaṇa pravīṇa kṛpāṇaṁ ||

and the Parbhāṇī plates:

lārya-nirjita-suradruma-kāmadhenoh dorvikrama-krama-
tiraskṛta-Kārttavīryāt |
tasmād (Baddegād) ajāyata sutah kamanīyakīrttiḥ śrī-Yud-
dhamalla-nṛpatiḥ prathita-pratāpaḥ ||8||

The son of Yuddhamalla III was Narasimha II to whom the Vemu-
lavāda inscription attributes a conquest of the Mālavas and Gur-
jaras described at some length.

tataḥ sa rājanya-śiromaṇinām pādāravindena hrdo'harad-yaḥ |
babhūva nāmnā Narasimha-devo dhātryām-abhūd-bhūri-
dhṛtādhipatyah ||7||
yaḥ sapta dussādhataram nṛpānām-nirjitya sadyas-sama-
rāṅgaṇeṣu | vinyasya ke hastam-ato natābhāmstān Mālavān yaḥ
karadicakāra ||8||
pratyudgatām Gurjjara-rāja-senām nirjitya rājā svayam eka
eva
Kālapriye rājakadambakasya stambhe sva-śauryam vililekha
śaile ||9||

As Narasimha II was the father of his patron Arikesari II,
Pampa gives a very full account of the king and his achievements
in no fewer than ten verses which supplement the details given by
the Vemulavāda inscriptions with the important statement that
Mahipāla was the name of the Gurjjara king against whom Nara-
simha won his successes.

31. ātmabhavan-ā narādhipa
nātma janā Nahuṣa Pṛthu Bhagīratha Nala mā
hātmaran-ilisi negaḷda ma
hātmaṁ Narasimhan-aṛivinoḷ paramātmaṁ ||
32. māmkarisad-aṛivu guru vaca-
nāmkuśamaṁ pāḷiyedege poṇardaribalamaṁ | |
kiṁkoḷe mā [peḍegaṇame]ni-
raṁkuśa-menisududu munisu Bhadrāmkuśanā ||
33. taṛisaṁdu Lāḷaroḷ ta
ḷtiriḍ-eṛam pēḷe kēḷdu maṁḍalaṁminnum
tirunīrikkuvudenisida
taṛi salavina calada balada kali Narasimhaṁ ||
34. siṁgaṁ masagidavōḷ Nara-
siṁgam taḷtiriye negaḷda nettarnabhadroḷ
keṁguḍi kavidaṁtādudi
dēṁ garvada peṁpo Sakala-lōkāśrayanā ||

35. Ēlum mālamumañ pā-
rēle taguḷdiridu Naragan-uripidoḍe karim
kēlisidātana tējada
bīlalan-anukaripu vāduvogedurivurigal ||
36. vijayārambha purassara
vijaya gajaṁgaḷane piḍidu Ghūrjara rāja
dhvajiniyan-iridō-ḍisi bhuja
vijayade Vijayanuman-ilisidañ Narasimhañ ||
37. siḍilavoleraguva Naragana
paḍegagidummaḷadinuṁḍeḍeyoḷuṁṇadeyum
keḍedeḍeyoḷ keḍeyade nim
deḍeyoḷ nilladeyum-ōḍidam Mahipālañ ||
38. Gaṁgāvārdhiyoḷātma tu
raṁgamamañ misisi negaḷda Kāḷa priyadoḷ
saṁgata guṇan-asi-lateyana
suṁgoḷe bhujavijaya garvaḍim sthāpisidam ||
39. ā Narasimha mahīsa ma
nō-nayanapriye viḷōḷanīlālake cañ
drānane Jākavve dalā
Jānakigaggaḷame kuladoḷam śiladoḷañ ||
40. posatalarda bīliya tāvare-
yesaḷgaḷa naḍuvirpa siriyumākeya keladoḷ |
nasu masuḷdu tōrpaḷene pō-
lisu voḍe Jākavvegulida peṇḍir doreyē ||

Verses 31 and 32 compare Narasimha to legendary kings of great fame like Nahuṣa, Pṛthu and so on, and praise his valour and knowledge in general, and give him the title Bhadrāṁkuśa. The mention of Lāḷas as Narasimha's enemies in v. 33, the title Sakalā-lōkāśraya given to him at the end of v. 34, the burning and ravaging of the seven Mālavas (v. 35),¹⁷ the defeat of the Ghūrjara rāja in battle and the seizure of his elephants (v. 36) and the picturesque description of the cowering restless condition of Mahipāla on whom Narasimha is said to have descended like a thunderbolt

17. This has been doubted, without adequate grounds, by B. V. Krishna-rao and Narasimhachari, who seek other explanations of the phrase. But Pampa read in the light of the eighth verse of the Vemulavāḍa inscription dispels all doubts on this head. 'Seven Mālwas' is a conventional phrase as is well-known, cf. Seven Konkanas.

(v. 37) should all be noted as very valuable bits of history, that enhance the value of the superb poetry of Pampa. Verse 38 on the horses of Narasimha drinking the waters of the Ganges sounds incredible, but is quite within the range of probability after the mention of Mahīpāla of Kanauj, and the reference to Kālapriyā may be noted. The last two verses (39 and 40) describe Jākavve, the queen of Narasimha, by whose side even Lakṣmī seated in the midst of the white lotus seems a little lacking in lustre.¹⁸

Once more for a correct appreciation of the facts thus recorded in the Vemulavāḍa inscription and Pampa's *Bhārata*, we should turn to Rāṣṭrakūṭa history. Indra III (C.A.D. 915-8) is known to have led a successful expedition against Ujjain and Malwa; his horses are said to have crossed the Jumna resembling the ocean in its depth, and after his expedition the enemy city which was formerly Mahodaya—Great Prosperity—was reduced to Kuśasthali—a meadow, a play upon two well-known names of Kanauj, the capital of the famous Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahīpāla I.¹⁹ The terms of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription on the Malwa campaign:

Yan mādyaddvipa-dantaghāta-viṣamam kālapriyaprāṅgaṇaṁ, i.e., whose rutting elephants made the courts of the Kālapriya (shrine) uneven by the strokes of their tusks, recall distinctly the expressions of the Vemulavāḍa inscription (v. 9) on Narasimha engraving the letters of his fame on a stone pillar in Kālapriya. And a little before Indra III, another Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa II is said to have frightened some enemies into abandoning Khetaka, Khaira in the Lāṭa country, and the surrounding area,²⁰ and it is quite possible that Narasimha II took a hand in this war against the Lāṭas also. We thus see most clearly that the history of the Cālukya feudatories of Vemulavāḍa runs throughout as an illuminating foot-note to that of their suzerains, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed; their loyalty to the line with which their fortunes were so closely bound up would appear to have made them oblivious of their Cālukya extraction; at any rate their policy was in no way influenced either by memories of their original connection with the Cālukyas of Bādāmi whom the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had displaced, or

18. At XII 132 Pampa repeats the name of Jākavve and failure to note this led Fleet into an error regarding her name.

19. Cambay Plates. EI. vii. p. 26 v. 19.

20. *ib.* v. 13. I think Pampa shows that DRB. is wrong in rejecting this identification at EI. vii. p. 29 n. 3.

by thoughts of their kinship with the still flourishing Vengi branch of the Cālukyas.

The Parbhaṇī plates are not very useful for the reign of Narasimha II as they dismiss it in one verse containing a rhetorical play on the name of the king:

Kurvannivātra nijaṇāma yathārtham-uccair-āvirbhavad-
bhuja-parākrama-ḍambareṇa |
śātāsi-tivra-nakharāgra-vidāritā-rivakṣasthalo'-Jani tato
Narasimha rajaḥ || 9 ||

The son of Narasimha II by Jākavve was Arikesari II, the suzerain of the donor of the Vemulavāḍa grant and patron of Pampa. His exploits are naturally treated of at some length in the inscription and by Pampa, though as is only to be expected the few facts lie concealed in the midst of heavy laudatory padding. Let us first reproduce the text of the Vemulavāḍa inscription:

tasyodapādi balavat-paracakra-kumbhi-kumbhasthaloddha-
lana-dakṣa-kṛpānapāṇiḥ |
bhītānatāri-narapāla-kirīṭakoṭi-samghaṭṭitāṅghri-
sarasīja-virājitaḥ || 10 ||

śrīmān mahīpatis-sākṣān-nāmnā vīro' (A) rikesarī |
prādurbabhūva tejasvī prātar-bhānurivodayam || 11 ||

samasta-sāmantha-sikhāmaṇinām
prabhā-prapātāyita-śārvarām sva-
samcāra-nārī-nayanāmbujānām
lakṣmīm himāsāra ivāhard yaḥ || 12 ||

sāmantān daṇḍamukhyān-nijabhūja-parighā-prasphuraḍ-
khaḍgadhārā-
nirāmbhorāśī-magnām turaga-karighaṭā patti-sampatti-
yuktān |

kṛtvāpalyāryyam-āryyah svajana parijanaiḥ sannihatyājirāṅge
kruddhe Govindarāje²¹ śaraṇamupagato rakṣito yena
Bijjaḥ || 13 ||

devīm Revakanirmmaḍim kṣitipater-Indrasya putrīn-nutām
Paulomīmiva Vāsava (h) Śriyam-iva Śrīman Muradhvamsakaḥ |

21. The letters *Je* and *śa* have very unusual forms; but as we shall see, the correctness of the reading (C. R. K.'s) is confirmed by Pampa. p. 234 1.14.

strīratnam pariṇīya yena niratam tasyāḥ sapatnī kṛtā
nūnam sapta-samudra-mudrita-mahī(m) mānon-
natenādhunā||14||

The following prose passage which closes Arikesari's praśasti is full of sound jingles (śabdālankāra) and of no historical interest whatsoever and need not be reproduced. The grant section of the inscription may be reserved for discussion at the end of our discussion of Arikesari's reign. Even the five verses reproduced above give out remarkably little history; they just manage to state that Arikesari gave protection to Bijja who sought refuge with him from the anger of Govindarāja, and that the queen of Arikesari was Revakanirmmaḍi, the praiseworthy daughter of the king Indra.

If now we turn to Pampa, we find that he gives no fewer than eleven verses to the praise of Arikesari, but most of them lack historical interest being merely laudatory. Verse 41 giving the name and parentage of Arikesari may be reproduced:

ā Jēkavvegām-ā vasu
dhā Jaya-sadvallabhaṅgam-ati viśada-yaśō
rājitanenip'-Arikēsari
rājām tējōgni magna ripunṛpaśalabham.||

A brief summary of the contents of the remaining verses follows, the text being reproduced only in one or two cases of particular interest to us:

42. Praise of the liberality and valour of Arikesari.

43. His childhood and early intimacy with elephants.

44. This verse is of some interest. In it the poet says that Arikesari was cradled on Indra's arm, and that there was no king equal to him. The statement is clearly meant to prepare the way for the identification of Arikesari with Arjuna, the son of Indra, which animates the entire poem. But it has also been suggested by Mr. Timmappaya²² with great plausibility that there is here also a reference to king Indra who was perhaps the maternal uncle and later the father-in-law of Arikesari; on this view Jākavve was sister of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III and Revakanirmmaḍi his daughter. Political allegiance and martial loyalty led to close dynastic alli-

Directly and indirectly Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions suggest that Govinda IV was a libertine who neglected the affairs of state for the carnal pleasures of life, and brought, by his conduct, much discredit on his family. Even the elaborate defence set up for him in one of his own *praśastis* (Cambay plates)²⁴ seems to give his case away, for we find few inscriptions stating, as this one does, that the king was not cruel to his elder brother, did not bring discredit on himself by liaisons with the wives of his close relations, nor qualify for being considered a *piśāca* by neglecting all observance of purity and cleanliness. And the inscriptions of his uncle and successor Amoghavarṣa III roundly assert that the *sāmantas* joined together and requested him to assume the sovereignty in order to preserve the nobility of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom (*Raṭṭa-rājya-mahimālam-banārtham*). The personal name of Amoghavarṣa III was Baddega. Thus if we may accept Pampa's statements at face value, we may suppose that the differences between Govinda IV and Vijayāditya started the train of events which ended the rule of Govinda and brought his uncle to the throne, and the part of Arikesari in these transactions was of decisive importance, for he openly espoused the cause of Vijayāditya, fought against the *sāmantas* sent by Govinda, and having ruined the chances of Govinda in open battle, bestowed the empire on Baddega. But probably we have to make some allowance for the exaggeration natural to a poet's description of his patron's achievements; when all adjustments have been made, however, it would still be seen that Arikesari's part in the political revolution in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa state was no mean one.

We have still to identify Bappuva, the brother of Kakkala, who fought on the side of Govinda and was defeated by Arikesari; the Kakkala mentioned here could not have been the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of that name who came much later; he must be identical with the person of that name mentioned in an unpublished Śilāhāra grant as having been overthrown by Amoghavarṣa III,²⁵ and Bappuva at the head of his elephant corps must have fought with him for Govinda, and lost.

The Parbhāṇī plates are quite vague on Arikesari's reign though they give it two very long verses and a shorter one:

24. V. 22 EI. vii. pp. 26 ff.

25. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 110.

mādyad-durdhara-vairivāraṇa-śiraḥ kuṭṭāka-doh-śālinah
 simhasyeva sa kesariha Narasimhasya sphuradvikramah|
 tasyāsīd-Arikesarīti tanayo' śūnyam kṛtam śaiśavam
 yenodyat-kṣitibhṛt-pradhāna-kaṭakakrānti-kramakriḍayā||10||
 āryacchatrayugam himāmsuviśadam haimāravindāmkitam
 mājūrātapavāraṇam ca kakudam yad-yauvrājya-śriyaḥ|
 agre dhāvati yasya samprati sa kim varṇyeta vīrāgraṇī-
 rdurvāroruparākramo guṇamaṇiḥ sāmāntacūḍāmaṇiḥ||11||
 Rāṣṭrakūṭakule khyāte Jātā Lokāmbikā satī|
 vīraśrīriva vīrasya tasyāsīt sudatī priyā||12||

It will be seen that Arikesari's queen is called Lokāmbikā who is also described as a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess; Lokāmbikā may be a title of Indra's daughter Revakanirmmaḍi mentioned in the Vemulavāḍa inscription, or she might be another wife of Arikesari.

Before taking leave of Arikesari II we should gather the data from the grant portion of the Vemulavāḍa inscription which has guided our investigation so far. The prose passage (ll. 53-71) that follows verse 14 cited above is totally devoid of any interest, being mere word play. Then we get a number of titles for Arikesari viz., Pāmbarāmkūśan, Ammanagandhavāraṇam, Gandhebhavidyādharan, Ārūḍhasarvajñan, Udāttanārāyaṇam, . . .²⁶ Guṇanidhi, Guṇārṇava, Śaraṇāgata-vajrapaṇjara, Priyagaḷla, Tribhuvana-malla, and Sāmāntacūḍāmaṇi. It will be recalled that two of these titles Priyagaḷla and Sāmāntacūḍmaṇi are given by Pampa also, and that the title Śaraṇāgata-vajrapaṇjara recalls Pampa's Śaraṇāgata-Jaladhi. Then we get the name of Arikesari's mahāsāndhivigrahi Guṇakarasa. This is followed after a gap (ll. 83-84) by the mention (in our verse 15, ll. 85-88) of Nāgamārya, the satrādhipāla (Superintendent of feeding houses) of king Baddega, and his son Peddaṇārya, the tantrapāla of King Guṇārṇava (i.e. Arikesari). It seems probable that king Baddega mentioned here is no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa III, and if that be so, the Vemulavāḍa inscription must be placed after the revolution which put him on the throne, and this seems quite likely from the references contained in verse 13 of the record. Baddega Soladagaṇḍa, the ancestor of Arikesari II, seems too far removed in time to be identified with the homonymous ruler mentioned here. At Peddaṇa's request, 100 *nivartanas* of arable land were given on the occasion

26. I omit one title here not easily read.

of Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti for a *sattra* for the feeding of persons who came to worship at the Āditya shrine built by him, and another field of 8 *nivartanas* for a fresh water tank (*pāṇīya-bhūmi-kṣetram*). The donor was clearly Arikesari himself, the ruler of Lemulavāḍa (ll. 93-5)-leṁbulavāṭakapatta (*ṇaiśā*)nakone śrī mad Arikesariṣtipatiradāt. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao makes Guṇakarasa, the donor;²⁷ Guṇakarasa is mentioned only as standing in some relation of federal superiority to Nāgamāryya as the phrase *tatpā-dāmbhoja* after his name in l. 83 shows; the exact relation is obscured by the gap in the inscription. Then follows an enumeration of the witnesses to the gifts recorded, and the enumeration is of considerable interest to a study of social and economic institutions of ancient India. The text (ll. 95-101) reads:

tatra Rājeśvar(a) Āditya-gr̥ha Baddegīśvara Nagareśvara
prabhṛti catus-sthānādivāsas-sākṣī
Mallikārjjuna - Vyaktalingi, - Vidyārāśi - vyākhyāni - bhattāra-
kāśca sākṣiṇaḥ||
Candraśreṣṭhiprabhṛtayo nava śreṣṭhinaśca sākṣiṇaḥ||

We notice here first the four shrines are themselves made witnesses; then three teachers (*vyākhyāni* means expounder) named Mallikārjjuna, Vyaktalingi, and Vidyārāśi—all clearly Śaiva names—and lastly nine merchants of the town, the chief of them being Candraśreṣṭhi. The inscription ends with the usual verses of a formal nature, but at the very end is mentioned the fact that the field which was the subject of the gift bore a *siddhāya* (money-tax) of twelve drammas—*asya kṣetrasya dvādaśa dramma siddhāyaḥ*.²⁸ It has been suggested by Mr. Narasimhachari that Pampa might himself have composed the Vemulavāḍa praśasti; he thinks that verses 3 and 4 of the inscription bear such a close resemblance to the verses I, 16 and 17 of Pampa that a common authorship is to be assumed, for 'Pampa, a great poet as he was, would not have condescended to translate the stanzas of the inscription if its author were any other inferior versifier'.²⁹ The last clause in this citation badly begs the question; still the suggestion is not unpalatable, and if it is accepted, the inscription would cease to be an independent

27. JAHRS. vi. pp. 171-2.

28. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao misses this point when he suggests p. 189 n. 36 the correction of *dramma* into *dharma*.

29. JAHRS. vii. p. 164.

source corroborating or corroborated by Pampa. After all both are compositions of the reign of Arikesari, and one may doubt if the resemblances between them are more than what may be expected in the circumstances.

The Parbhāṇī plates carry the history of the line two generations further. The son of Arikesari II was Baddega II who might have owed his name either to the presence of a Baddega among his ancestors, or more likely, to Arikesari's loyalty to the Rāṣṭra-kūṭa Baddega Amoghavarṣa III. His son was Arikesari III, the donor of the Parbhāṇī plates who calls himself the vassal of Kṛṣṇa III, the date of the grant A.D. 966 falling towards the very end of the reign of that emperor. The text of the inscription contains little of interest on these two reigns; it reads:

Bhadradeva iti nandanastayoḥ śaktimān savinayas-sadakṣiṇaḥ |
śailarājatanayā-triṇetrayoḥ Kārttikeya iva kīrttimān-
abhūt||13||

ānandaṁ candravac-cakre kāntyā kuvalayasya yaḥ||14||
tasmādaṇi-tejasvī rājā nāmnā (A)rikesarī |

We see then that there is nothing of interest besides the names of the kings in these two verses. We may note also that the formal part records the grant of a village in Sabbideśa, a well-known division of Telingana, boundaries given by mentioning the names of villages around the one that forms the subject of the gift; the grant is made by Arikesari to the Jaina temple of his father Baddega known by the name of Śubhadhāma-jinālaya in the capital for repairs and worship—Lembulapāṭaka-nāmadheya-nijarāja-dhānyām nijapituḥ śrīmad-Badyagasya Śubhadhāma-Jinālayākhyā vasateḥ khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-navasudhākarma-balinivedyārtham. In recording this grant Arikesari III is described as the feudatory of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇarājadeva, and gets a number of titles more or less the same as those of his grandfather Arikesari II. These need not be reproduced.

But the apparent lack of political interest in these two reigns is more than made up for by the interest that is evoked by the name of the donee; for the person to whom Arikesari III made the grant was one of the most celebrated among the numerous Jaina writers who have enriched the literatures of India in many languages. It was Somadevasūri, well-known to students of Sanskrit literature. Our inscription traces (vv. 15-18) his *vidyā-vamśa*,

and then proceeds to record data which leave no room for any mistake about his identity. We learn that in the Gauḍa-saṃgha, there was a famous scholar by name Yaśodeva; he was a muni who by his tapas had established contact with the Śāsanadevatas. His pupil was Nemideva, an expert in Jaina doctrine and an axe to the pride of the disputants of rival faiths. Nemideva produced many pupils of great excellence like the ocean yielding jewels. Most notable among these, with a hundred before him and a hundred after, was Śrī Somadeva, the abode of learning, the seat of fame, whose beauty was enhanced by his character. On Somadeva it is best to let the text speak for itself:

Śrī Somadevas-tapasah śrutasya sthānam yaśodhāma guṇorjji-
taśriḥ | api ca | yo bhagavān ādarśas-samastavidyānām viracayitā
Yaśodhara caritasya, karttā Syādvāḍopaniṣadaḥ kavitā (kava-
yitā?) cānyeṣām api subhāṣitānām, akhila-mahāsāmanta sīmanta-
prānta-paryyasto-ttamsa-srak-surabhi-caranaḥ sakala-vidvajjana-
karṇṇāvatamsibhavadyaśaḥ puṇḍarīkaḥ, sūrya iva sakalāvaṇi-
bhṛtām śiraḥ śreṇiṣu śikhāṇḍa maṇḍanāyamāna pādapadmo' bhūt.

Somadeva was the author of *Yaśodharacarita* (otherwise called *Yaśastilaka-Campū*), *Syādvāḍopaniṣad* and other works, and was highly respected by many rulers in the land who did honour to themselves by honouring him. We know from the oft-quoted colophon to the *Yaśastilaka* that Somadeva composed that work in Ś. 981, i.e., seven years before the date of the Parbhaṇī plates, when Kṛṣṇa III was still residing at Melpāḍi, after his campaigns in South India and his feudatory Badyaga, the eldest son of Ari-kesari II, was ruling at a place called Gangadhārā overflowing with wealth: Śrīmad Vadyagarājasya lakṣmīpravardhamāna-vasu-dhārāyām Gangadhārāyām vinirmāpitam idam kāvyam iti. In the colophon to his *Nītivākyaṃṛta*, evidently written after the date of the Parbhaṇī plates, Somadeva calls himself, among other things, the priyaśiṣya (beloved pupil) of Śrī Nemidevabhagavān. And his affinity with the Gauḍa saṃgha has been traced by Dr. Raghavan in Somadeva's references to Dharmāvaloka, a ruler of Rāṣṭrakūṭa extraction ruling in Bodhgaya, in the tenth century A.D.³⁰ Pampa and Somadeva, both Jains, two of the greatest names in mediaeval Indian literature, shed their lustre on the Court of the Cālukyas of Vemulavāḍa.

The Parbhaṇī plates were composed by Kavi (poet) Peddaṇa Bhaṭṭa and engraved by Reva of the Śubhadhāmajinālaya, as we learn from the concluding verse of the record. Peddaṇa, the author of the praśasti, may well be identified with his namesake mentioned as the son of Nagamārya in the Vmulavāḍa inscription.

I cannot end this paper without expressing my deep sense of gratitude to Mr. Mariappa Bhat, Lecturer in Kannada in the University of Madras, for his reading with me the relevant passages of Pampa's great work and of Timmappayya's Nāḍoja Pampa to which he drew my attention; also to Mr. Ananta Rao, research student in the department of Indian history and Mrs. Kharve (a former research student) for large help with Marathi articles which they patiently summarised for me.